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# Long Hours and Longings: Australian Children's Views of Fathers' Work and Family Time

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*Using two waves of paired data from a population sample of 10- to 13-year-old Australian children (5,711 father–child observations), the authors consider how the hours, schedules, intensity, and flexibility of fathers' jobs are associated with children's views about fathers' work and family time. A third of the children studied considered that their father works too much, one eighth wished that he did not work at all, and one third wanted more time with him or did not enjoy time together. Logistic regression modeling revealed that working on weekends, being time pressured, being unable to vary start and stop times, and working long hours generated negative views in children about fathers' jobs and time together. The time dilemmas generated by fathers' work devotions and demands are salient to and subjectively shared by their children.*

***Key Words****: child well-being, families and work, fathers, time use, work–family balance, work hours.*

Even as mothers' employment rates have risen, expectations on fathers to remain employed and be successful have changed little. Yet new framings of fatherhood are now in play, with many fathers also striving to be available, nurturing caregivers involved in the daily lives and routines of their children (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000). Providing money is necessary but no longer sufficient, and a good father "is prepared to put work second and family first" (Henwood & Procter, 2003, p. 343). Being available entails spending time with children, and being engaged means attending to and being responsive when with them. Although time with children is a marker of love, care, and commitment, earning income also takes time, and the jobs fathers typically hold or aspire to embed their own time devotions (Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl, 2013).

At issue is how the time required for earning income conflicts with fathers' time for children and with what consequences for families. Our article focuses on the consequences as viewed by children. We investigate how the gendered time devotions and imperatives of contemporary jobs, reflected by how long and when fathers' work as well as their work time intensity and flexibility, are shaping what children experience and hope for. To achieve this, our analysis combines the perspectives of children aged between 10 and 13 years with fathers' reports of their work time

and work–care conflicts, drawn from a nationally representative cohort of Australian families.

We focus on fathers' work time for two reasons. First, fathers' long hours on the job and lack of equal involvement in child care are powerful drivers of gender inequality in the home and the labor market, underlying gender gaps in participation and pay (Cha, 2010; Cha & Weeden, 2014; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). Understanding the consequences of fathers' time allocation and commitments, as reflected in children's experience and views, adds an important dimension to the debate on working time, gender, and equality, which has almost entirely focused on adults' points of view. This omission neglects children's voices and rights and renders invisible their stake in how economies, societies, gender relations, and care are structured. It is therefore important to include children's voice in the evidence, acknowledging their centrality to the problem of work and care and their unique perspective (Corsaro, 2005; Polatnick, 2002). Second, public policy has typically viewed fathers' work time as unproblematic for themselves or their children; family friendliness, for example, reflects policies and practices that usually target mothers' work time (father-focused policies generally concentrate on leave; e.g., O'Brien, Brandth, & Kvande, 2007). This is surprising because there is more than a decade of scholarly research documenting new expectations for fathering. Employed fathers can experience work–family conflicts at rates comparable to or greater than those of employed mothers (Milkie,Kendig, Nomaguchi, & Denny, 2010; Tang & Cousins, 2005). Indeed some scholars argue that contemporary fathers have developed a "temporal conscience" centering on time–or a lack thereof–with their children (Daly, 1996, p. 469).

We therefore suspect that in countries such as Australia, many fathers are facing powerful work–care dilemmas that are salient to their children. We link children's reports back to their fathers' job and work time imperatives to understand, through children's experiences, the way the workplace may be shaping contemporary fathering. To date, much of the research on children's views has been qualitative, yielding rich insights and underscoring the different viewpoints children may have, yet this research does not connect such experiences to structural processes in labor markets. Little research has tested the way the requirements of fathers' jobs are shaping family time through children's eyes.We further extend theory and work–family scholarship by considering multiple dimensions of time, not only the number of hours. As well as long work hours (especially a problem for privileged fathers), we consider awider range ofwork time conditions characteristic of contemporary jobs. Working on evenings, nights, or weekends is commonplace given the global exchange of services, and work intensification is widely reported, driven by new technologies and competition for jobs, whereas the ability to change start and stop times is an entitlement available only to select groups of men and is rarely used (Williams et al., 2013). Similar to work hours, these other dimensions of work time are neither fixed nor a given, but subject to wider social, economic, and political imperatives. As Ferree (2010) argues, the work–care nexus in families is simultaneously a site that shapes how children are raised and how gender and power relations are produced. By connecting theory on fathers' work time devotions (Williams et al., 2013) with sociological analysis of contemporary fathering and children's agency (e.g., Corsaro, 2005; Daly, 1996), our study seeks to show this nexus from the perspectives of children and fathers.

## Fathers' Work Time: Devotions and Dimensions

Jobs vary in how their time imperatives operate, but in competitive labor markets typical of liberal market economies, they can be roughly grouped into two. There are "good" jobs that deliver high pay and privilege, and they usually include some control over time, so the hours tend to be more flexible. However, they also require long hours and high effort. These jobs are characterized by intense time pressure, with employees expected to work fast, managing multiple demands and extending hours to get the job done (Williams et al., 2013). Career success, and in some instances holding onto a good job, reflects a tournament that aligns with long hours and high effort imperatives, but career tournaments also occur in lower paid, lower status jobs (O'Neill & O'Reilly, 2010). In these jobs, success and security does not typically center on how long or how intensively fathers work, but the contest is over availability and when they work (Williams et al., 2013). Although (somewhat) shorter hours might free up time for caregiving, a lack of predictability

and working on evenings, nights, or weekends clash with the times children are present. Furthermore, these schedules have start and stop times that are rarely flexible, generating family time conflicts and making reliable caregiving more difficult (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2012).

Prioritizing more time to care, be it by reducing work hours, refusing shifts, or asking for time off, signals a loss of devotion to the workplace (Coltrane, Miller, De Haan, & Stewart, 2013). Unlike mothers, fathers are viewed as workers who are unhampered by competing loyalties, and this enables fathers to receive privileges (monetary and success) because of their gender, but only so long as they give work time—not care—ascendency. This generates a powerful time bind that many are reluctant to confront, and thus few fathers use family-friendly provisions even when they are legally entitled to do so. The onus shifts to mothers to cut back, reinforcing gender divisions of care in the family and success in the labor market (Cha, 2010; Maume, 2006), raising questions about what children make of fathers' work and family time.

The theory from Williams et al. (2013) helps explain why fathers' work hours have remained consistent, even while mothers' labor force participation has risen. It may also illuminate why more fathers than mothers say work conflicts with time for family (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). In Australia, where our study is set, the vast majority of fathers work full-time, many long full-time (more than 50 hours each week), irrespective of their children's age or their partner's employment (Charlesworth, Strazdins, O'Brien, & Sims, 2011). Such rigidity in fathers' work time is explained by the analysis in Williams et al. (2013): If fathers are penalized when they reduce their work time investments, but are seeking to be more engaged at home, they may not change how they work even if they experience more conflict.

Fathers' work time is more than hours and minutes, however, and this is also apparent in the theory of work devotion in Williams et al. (2013). Work time involves multiple dimensions that include scheduling (working on weekends, evenings, and nights), intensity (working fast, deadlines, and under time pressure), and flexibility (fathers' capacity to control start and stop times), which may be as important to children as the number of hours fathers work. Evidence for this is drawn from studies of fathers' time use. In Australia, similar to many countries, most direct father–child interaction happens on weekends (Baxter, 2015; Pocock & Clarke, 2005; Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, & Hoferth, 2001), and when work intrudes into weekends fathers generally cannot recover this time with children (Hook, 2012). Work intensity, which refers to pace and time pressure, may be especially important to fathers' engagement and the quality of time with children. Diary studies show that time pressures on the job generate emotional states (e.g., anger, distress, and fatigue) that alter fathers' mood and energy when at home, and these can transfer into interactions with children (Repetti, 1994). Finally, the capacity to control when work is done (flexibility) enables fathers to adjust time to child-related needs, responsibilities, and events. Being unable to attend special events, respond to unexpected care needs, or contribute to some daily routines makes this aspect of work time highly visible and directly consequential to children. Thus, a developed body of theory and evidence shows, from the adult perspective, how work time affects fathers' family time and capacity to care. A key gap has been to connect adult-focused insights into contemporary work, time, and gender to what children think and experience.

## Discerning Concerns: Children's Views of Fathers' Work and Time

It might be expected that children would naturally want more time with their father, yet evidence points instead to children's support for fathers' employment. Rather than begrudging their father's job, most children appear to accept fathers' work as necessary and valued (Galinsky, 1999; Harden, Backett-Milburn, MacLean, Cunningham-Burley, & Jamieson, 2013; Lewis, Noden, & Sarre, 2008; Pocock & Clarke, 2005); they understand the importance of being able to earn income and support them. For example, one 9-year-old girl, whose father was struggling to find full employment, explained the following to Galinsky (1999, p. 50): “He has been getting 20 hours a week instead of 40, which has been really hurting his paycheck. When he doesn't get his full paycheck, it makes him feel bad. It makes him feel like he is not doing enough for his family.” Sometimes fathers can be viewed unidimensionally as “the money guy” (Brannen, Wigfall, & Mooney, 2012, p. 33), but most research indicates that children and

adolescents hold a mixture of feelings about father's jobs: They value his employment and accept it imposes time constraints while valuing time together as special and unique. Similar to fathers, the majority of children in these studies struggle with the necessary tensions and trade-offs between earning income and time. Children's pragmatism in resolving this tension is apparent in Pocock and Clarke's (2005) interviews with adolescents who come from high- and low-income families: In high-income families, they opted for more time, not more money, but in less well-off households, money and time trade-offs were carefully weighed. Although many adolescents still opted for more time with fathers, they were aware of what this might mean for family finances: “I really can't pick, because we need the money, but I also need my parents” (16-year-old from a low-income family; Pocock & Clarke, 2005, p. 66).

Thus, children and young people do not view fathers' employment as either intrinsically good or bad (Pocock & Clarke, 2005), and they may to some extent view fathers' lack of time with them as normative (Sinno & Killen, 2011). This may not change their desire to spend time together, however, even while they understand it: “I miss him. He's gone for short times. He calls from where he is. I'd rather have him home during that time, but I know he has to do it because it's part of his job” (12-year-old girl; Galinsky, 1999, p. 67). Children appear to place special value on certain times with their father, often the weekends, suggesting that fathers' work on weekends may disrupt children's acceptance of work ascendancy: “He leaves on Monday and comes home on Friday, which is annoying. He spends time with us on the weekends, so he is making up for it” (12-year-old boy; Brannen et al., 2012, p. 31). Furthermore, the studies reveal that children consistently dislike rushing, which they link to fathers' work stresses, intensification, inflexibility, and the feeling that work is put first (Brannen et al., 2012; Galinsky, 1999). Some children described fathers who came home from work in foul moods, tired, aggravated, or grouchy from their work efforts, which they responded to by keeping out of his way, trying to help, being “good,” feeling anxious, or simply accepting (Brannen et al., 2012; Harden et al., 2013; Pocock & Clarke, 2005). Avoiding rushing was another reason why weekend time (which was usually less pressured and constrained) was highly valued (Galinsky, 1999; Harden et al., 2013). These rich interview data reveal that children are far from being passive objects of fathers' work–time dilemmas, but actively construe, engage with, and sometimes even ameliorate them. Even so, their relationship with their father and time with him was valued, reinforcing the theory on the centrality of the father–child relationship to child development (Lamb, 2010). A strength of the research to date is the nuanced accounts and clear evidence that fathers' time at work and at home is important and visible to children. It is, however, likely to be erroneous to assume that children always concur with adult (fathers') views, although few studies directly compare both perspectives. Even fewer studies systematically link children's concerns about and views of time with fathers to the features of his job and to father–child relationships.

As well as children's pragmatism and longing, our review also reveals that multiple dimensions of work time are salient to children, suggesting that they independently influence how children construe fathers' care. Yet we found that few studies—qualitative or quantitative—directly connect children's views and experiences of fathering to those aspects of work time theorized as problematic (Williams et al., 2013). Our expectation is that fathers' hours, schedules, intensity, and flexibility will play a role in shaping children's views and experience of fathering; investigating this is a core aim of the article.

## Does Father's Time Matter More to Some Children, in Some Families?

Although our review reveals that children generally accept and value their fathers' work efforts and understand the countervailing commitments he has, they also view their time with fathers as special and unique. The acceptance of fathers' work time was not universal, and just as some fathers reported concerns about a lack of time together, so did some children (Lewis et al., 2008; Pocock & Clarke, 2005). Along with fathers' work time devotions (assessed by hours, schedules, intensity, flexibility), children's age may also determine how they value and view their father's time. Older children appear to value their time alone and so are more likely to see time apart as a marker of independence. As adolescents (aged 14–15 years) explained to Lewis

et al. (2008), they liked time alone because they disliked parents talking with them, at their age it was not really “their thing” (Lewis et al., 2008, p. 434). Younger children have different attachment needs and may be more likely to mention missing their fathers, such as feeling annoyed if fathers were late home, and this may affect their experience of closeness (Brannen et al., 2012; Galinsky, 1999).

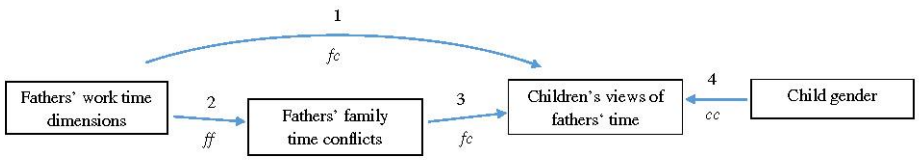
It is also possible that a child's gender will affect views about a father's time. Fathers are usually more involved with sons (Yeung et al., 2001), and their time together centers on doing “boys things” (Brannen et al., 2012, p. 32). This suggests that impingements on fathers' time may be especially salient to boys. A recent longitudinal study revealed that fathers' long work hours were detrimental to sons', but not daughters', mental health, further suggestive of this possibility (Johnson, Li, Kendall, & Strazdins, 2014). Although most studies find that fathers' involvement is important for all children, the benefits appear to be most marked among boys (Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000). Age and gender differences might interact; thus Galinsky (1999) found that the boys she interviewed appeared to especially miss time with their fathers, especially older boys aged 16 or 17 years. Just as there may be age- and gender-linked pathways between fathers' time and children's health (Johnson et al., 2014; Lamb, 2010; Sallinen, Kinnunen, & Rönkä, 2004), so too there may be gender- and age-linked influences on how children view and experience their fathers' work time and time with them.

Fathers' education and income are important to control for in the model because the time requirements associated with fathers' jobs vary according to pay and skill levels (Williams et al., 2013). As well as influencing which jobs fathers have (and their associated time requirements), education can independently shape the father–child relationship. For example, highly educated fathers tend to spend more time with their children and are more involved in activities such as homework (e.g., Yeung et al., 2001). Mothers' work hours may also determine how children value and view their fathers' time. Although children generally describe their time with fathers as special and unique (and not replaceable by mothers), they also appear to hold gender-normative beliefs, whereby mothers are expected to do more caregiving (Sinno & Killen, 2011). It is possible that when mothers are employed, such gender-normative beliefs are loosened and a reliance on fathers' time increases, both for the day-to-day caregiving and for fun. Impingements on the time together may therefore be more salient and less accepted in families where mothers are also devoting time to paid work, increasing their relative influence on children's views and wishes. Finally, our model adjusts for the nature of the fathering relationship (step or biological) and the number of children in the family, which could further constrain fathers' time and availability.

## Research Hypotheses

Our conceptual model is illustrated in Figure 1. Using paired data from fathers and children, we propose that fathers' work time requirements and family time conflicts (as reported by fathers) shape how children view father's time. Following the analysis by Williams et al. (2013), fathers' family time conflicts occur via multiple dimensions of fathers' work time (not just work hours). Our model then connects these adult pathways (1, 2, and 3) to how children view their fathers' work and family time (path 4) to establish if they influence how children view fathers' jobs (works too much, wish he didn't work at all) and time with them (enjoy time, have enough time together). Specifically, we expect that when fathers work long hours,

FIGURE 1. CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT INFLUENCE OF FATHERS' WORK TIME ON CHILDREN'S VIEWS.




*Note*. 1, 2, 3, and 4 are the hypothesized associations. *ff* = father data, *fc* = father and child data, *cc* = child data.

work at unsociable times, work under time pressure, and have a lack control over work time, this puts pressure on time the children value, and they are more likely to develop negative views about his work and time with them (Hypothesis 1). They also generate conflicts in family time (Hypothesis 2) because fathers miss family events, and their time at home is pressured and less fun. Although children may form their viewpoints independently, we expect (Hypothesis 3) that fathers' experience of family time conflicts further adds to children's negative views of his time, forming an indirect pathway between fathers' work time and children's views. Because time with fathers may be especially important to boys, we expect (Hypothesis 4) gender differences in children's views. Finally, because time is a defining feature of how relationships with fathers are construed (Daly, 1996), we explore the connection between how children view their father's work and family time and feelings of closeness with him.

## Method

### *Data and Sample*

We tested our hypotheses with data from the Growing Up in Australia, Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC; http://www.growingupinaustralia.gov.au/). The LSAC is a nationally representative study of children, with the main unit of analysis being the study child (Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2003). The sampling frame used the Medicare database, a comprehensive database of Australia's population. Children born within specific dates were randomly selected based on a stratified random sample of Australian postcodes. The families of selected children were then invited to participate (Wave 1 response rate, 54% of these families), yielding a sample of 4,983 children born between March 1999 and February 2000 (the “K cohort”). Our study used survey data collected in 2010 (Wave 4) and 2012 (Wave 5), when these children were aged 10 to 11 and 12 to 13 years. As a proportion of the Wave 1 sample, 84% had been retained at Wave 4 and 79% at Wave 5. All univariate and bivariate analyses used sample weights to adjust for biases from initial nonresponse and attrition.

An important strength of the LSAC is the collection of data from multiple informants, providing the opportunity to pair father and child data. Mothers and fathers completed a separate section on employment and work–family experiences, and an interview with the child's primary caregiver (usually mothers) collected information on family and child demographics. Children completed a computer-assisted self-interview, which included questions about their father's job, family relationships, and time with their father (three of the measures used were repeated in both Waves 4 and 5, and one was available in Wave 5 only). Almost all children (98%) completed this interview.

Of the 4,169 families interviewed at Wave 4 and 3,956 at Wave 5, some were not in scope because we restricted the sample to fathers who were living in the same household as the child, fathers who had worked for pay in the previous week, and fathers whose child had also reported them as employed. Restricting in this way meant excluding 1,376 children without a resident father. We also excluded 423 children with both a resident and nonresident father because we could not be sure to which father the child was referring. Another 386 families with not-employed fathers were excluded, along with 229 families where the child did not answer questions about his or her father's employment or who reported that his or her father was not employed. These exclusions left a possible sample of paired father–child responses of 2,974 at Wave 4 and 2,737 at Wave 5, giving a pooled sample of 5,711 observations. Of these, 5,116 corresponded to the data of each of the two waves for 2,558 children. Another 416 father–child pairs were for Wave 4 only and 179 for Wave 5 only.

Some items were drawn from fathers' self-completion questionnaire, and this component of the study was not available for 22% of the fathers. There were also missing data on some other demographic and work variables. In total, of our in-scope sample, 32% had missing data on one or more variables (see Table 1). Rather than exclude father–child data (which would introduce bias), we used multiple imputation (Acock, 2005; Johnson & Young, 2011). Using Stata (Stata 14.0; StataCorp, 2015), the “MI” command chained equations generated 25 imputation data sets based on all analytical variables and additional demographic variables (marital status, English-language proficiency, and parental relationship quality) that might affect nonresponse. All multivariate analyses were based on the imputed data.

Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics, Pooled Wave 4 and Wave 5 Data*

| | | Weighted % *M* (*SD*) | Nonmissing *N* (imputed *N*) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Children's views of fathers' time | | |
| Fathers' work | He works too much | 35.3 | 5,707 (4) |
| | Wish he didn't work | 17.4 | 5,708 (3) |
| Time together | Enjoy time together | 68.4 | 5,706 (5) |
| | Enough time together (Wave 5 only) | 65.6 | 2,722 (15) |
| | Fathers' work time dimensions and family time conflicts | | |
| Hours | Part time <35 hours | 11.7 | 5,711 |
| | 35–44 hours | 40.8 | – |
| | 45–54 hours | 26.0 | – |
| | ≥55 hours | 21.5 | – |
| Schedule | Daytime, weekdays only | 57.2 | 5,711 |
| | Daytime, including weekends | 24.6 | – |
| | Nights, evenings, rotating, shifts | 18.1 | – |
| Intensity | Agree or strongly agree | 38.6 | 4,336 (1,375) |
| Flexibility | Cannot change or need approval | 37.5 | 4,313 (1,398) |
| Fathers' family time conflicts | Misses family events | 55.9 | 4,333 (1,378) |
| | Pressured family time | 20.3 | 4,338 (1,373) |
| | Child and family characteristics | | |
| Child gender | Boy | 50.9 | 5,711 |
| Child age | 10–11 years | 52.1 | 5,711 |
| | 12–13 years | 47.9 | |
| Father–child relationship | Biological father | 99.4 | 5,711 |
| | Stepfather | 0.6 | |
| Single father | Single father | 1.5 | 5,711 |
| Mothers' employment and work hours | Not employed or <15 hours per week | 35.0 | |
| | Employed ≥15 hours per week | 63.5 | |
| Family size | Number of children in family | 2.61 (0.98) | 5,711 |
| Fathers' age | Years | 44.6 (5.6) | 5,711 |
| Fathers' education | Incomplete secondary (<12 years) | 12.1 | 5,684 (27) |
| | Complete secondary ( ≥12 years) | 53.7 | |
| | Bachelor's degree or higher | 34.2 | |
| Fathers' income | Weekly gross (2012 AUD) | 1,796 (1,497) | 5,153 (558) |

*Note*. Total *N* in analytical sample = 5,711 for pooled data and 2,737 for Wave 5 only. AUD = Australian dollars. Descriptive statistics were calculated from the weighted, unimputed data.

## *Measures*

Descriptive statistics for all measures are shown in Table 1, which includes information about the degree to which variables were imputed as a result of missing data.

### *Dependent Variables.*

Children's views of fathers' time. There were four child-reported outcomes. Three were asked in Waves 4 and 5, whereas a fourth was introduced in Wave 5. For each, items were dichotomized (percentages refer to weighted distributions, pooled Waves 4–5 for the first three items).

Works too much? In both Waves 4 and 5, children were asked, "Do you think your dad works too much, too little, or about the right amount?" Response categories were "too much" (35%), "about the right amount" (63%), and "too little" (2%). A binary variable compared "too much" with the other responses.

Wish he didn't work? Similarly, at both waves, the children were asked, "Do you wish your dad

did not have to work?" Response categories were "yes, wish very much" (17%), "yes, wish a little bit" (40%), and "don't wish, not a problem" (42%). A binary variable compared "yes, wish very much" with the other categories. These two measures were adapted from Galinsky (1999).

Enjoy time together. At both waves, the children also responded to the question "Do you enjoy spending time with your dad?" using the following three response categories: "definitely true" (68%), "mostly true" (28%), "mostly not true" (3%), and "definitely not true" (1%). Given that almost all of the children reported positively on this, the binary variable compared "definitely true" with any other response.

Enough time together? At Wave 5, a new item asked the following: "Do you think the amount of time your dad spends with you is enough, too much or not enough?" The children's response categories were "nowhere near enough" (7%), "not quite enough" (27%), "about right" (63%), "a little too much" (2%), and "way too much" (1%). The binary version compared "nowhere near enough" and "not quite enough" with other categories (for a description, see the Baxter & Strazdins, LSAC Annual Statistical Report, 2014). Additional analyses explored how these views were related to children's assessments of closeness with their fathers. We used two items to assess closeness, "How close do you feel to your dad?" "very close" (54%), "quite close" (38%), or "not very close or not close at all" (8%), which we dichotomized as "very close" versus the rest in Wave 5, and "If you had a problem would you talk to your dad?" "yes" (68%) or "no" (31%), in Waves 4 and 5.

#### *Independent Variables*

Fathers' work time. We predicted children's views using fathers' data on work time and family time conflicts, available in Waves 4 and 5.

Weekly hours. Fathers' usual weekly work hours were categorized into bands to classify very long work hours (≥55 hours), long hours (45–54 hours), and standard full-time (35–44 hours) or part-time hours (<35 hours).

Work schedules. Fathers' regular work schedules were classified as "regularly works days–only weekdays," "regularly works days–including weekends," and "night, evening, rotating or other shift."

Work time intensity. Fathers rated their agreement with the statement "I never have enough time to get everything done in my job" and were classified as time pressured if they answered "agree" or "strongly agree" as opposed to " neither agree nor disagree," "disagree," or "strongly disagree."

Flexible hours. Fathers were asked "If you sometimes need to change the time when you start or finish your workday, is it possible?" "Yes, I am able to work flexible hours" was classified as flexible, compared with "yes, with approval in special situations," "no, not likely," and "no, definitely not."

Fathers' family time conflicts. Family time conflicts were measured with two items, reported by fathers, in Waves 4 and 5. These items were adapted from the measure developed by Marshall and Barnett (1993).

Misses family events. Fathers who answered "agree" or "strongly agree" to the statement "Because of my work responsibilities, I have missed out on home or family activities that I would like to have taken part in," compared with those who "neither agree nor disagree," "disagree" or "strongly disagree" were coded 1, misses family events. "Because of my work responsibilities, my family time is less enjoyable and more pressured," were considered to have pressured family time when compared with other categories.

***Moderating Variables***. We expected that time with fathers would matter more for younger children and for boys. Preliminary analyses indicated a significant Child Gender × Age interaction in children's views about fathers' work and time together, so we included a categorical variable (classifying children by age and gender) in all models and also tested for child age and gender interactions with work time.

***Control Variables***. We adjusted for fathers' education, fathers' income, the relationship between fathers and children (step vs. biological), and number of children in the household. We compared single-father families to couple families, which were further disaggregated according to whether mothers were in paid work for more than 15 hours per week (maternal work hours).

### *Statistical Approach*

Bivariate analyses explored the unadjusted associations between key variables in the model

Table 2. *Father's Work Time Characteristics and Family Time Conflicts, by Children's Views of Fathers' Time, and Fathers' Work Time Characteristics by Fathers' Family Time Conflicts (Unadjusted Percentages)*

| | Children's views of fathers' time, % | | | | Father's family time conflicts, % | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Works too much | Wish he didn't work | Enjoy time together | Enough time together | Misses family events | Pressured family time |
| Fathers' work time dimension | | | | | | |
| Hours | *** | † | *** | *** | *** | *** |
| < 35 hours | 22.1 | 12.7 | 59.8 | 71.6 | 38.4 | 16.4 |
| 35–44 hours | 28.7 | 17.2 | 66.9 | 68.7 | 48.8 | 15.2 |
| 45–54 hours | 38.6 | 17.5 | 71.1 | 66.7 | 59.0 | 22.1 |
| ≥ 55 hours | 48.7 | 19.3 | 70.6 | 56.1 | 72.6 | 30.0 |
| Schedule | *** | *** | n.s. | * | *** | *** |
| Daytime (not weekends) | 30.6 | 15.5 | 69.2 | 67.6 | 49.7 | 18.2 |
| Daytime (including weekends) | 40.5 | 20.0 | 66.4 | 63.7 | 62.0 | 25.4 |
| Night, evening, rotating, shifts | 42.5 | 19.9 | 68.4 | 61.8 | 68.1 | 20.4 |
| Intensity | *** | † | n.s. | ** | *** | *** |
| Agree, strongly agree | 39.3 | 18.6 | 69.5 | 61.1 | 70.0 | 33.3 |
| Neutral to strongly disagree | 31.0 | 16.3 | 69.6 | 68.9 | 47.5 | 12.5 |
| Flexibility | n.s. | *** | n.s. | † | *** | *** |
| Can change work hours | 33.3 | 15.0 | 69.9 | 68.2 | 50.9 | 18.5 |
| Cannot change, must seek approval | 35.5 | 20.3 | 69.2 | 62.0 | 63.6 | 22.8 |
| Fathers' family time conflicts | | | | | | |
| Misses out on family events | *** | *** | n.s. | *** | – | – |
| Agree, strongly agree | 40.3 | 19.2 | 69.2 | 62.2 | – | – |
| Neutral to strongly disagree | 26.2 | 14.7 | 70.0 | 70.8 | – | – |
| Family time is pressured | *** | † | * | *** | – | – |
| Agree, strongly agree | 43.7 | 18.6 | 65.5 | 58.4 | – | – |
| Neutral to strongly disagree | 31.6 | 16.8 | 70.6 | 67.9 | – | – |
| Total | 35.3 | 17.4 | 68.4 | 65.6 | 55.9 | 20.3 |

*Note*. Weighted estimates, derived from unimputed data. For each indicator based on child reports and each work time conflict indicator based on fathers reports, percentages were compared within each of the categorical variables, with statistical significance of differences tested using Chi-square statistics. n.s. = not statistically significant ($p \geq .10$).

$^{\dagger}p < .10$; $^{*}p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$.

in Figure 1 using father- and child-reported data (Table 2). These analyses examined which work time characteristics were associated with fathers' family time conflicts and if children's views about fathers' work and family time were associated with his work time characteristics and family time conflicts. Logistic regression modeling then tested the hypotheses after adjusting for control variables and child gender and age interactions. Table 3 reports the adjusted association between fathers' work time characteristics and family time conflicts. Table 4 presents adjusted direct and indirect associations between children's views and fathers' work time characteristics and family time conflict. Analyses used Stata/MP 14.0 (StataCorp, 2015). We calculated robust standard errors to take into account the nonindependence of observations from the same child.

We modeled each of the child outcomes separately, testing for direct and indirect associations in two steps. Step 1 modeled the adjusted association between the child-reported outcome and fathers' work time, along with the control variables. Step 2 added fathers' family time conflicts. A reduction in the size of the associations is an indication that the father's family time conflicts were an indirect path linking his work time requirements to his children's views. Stata's KHB routine tested whether the indirect effect was significant, using an approach developed by Breen, Karlson, and Holm (2013)

Table 3. *Adjusted (Unstandardized) Coefficients and Odds for Children's Views of Fathers' Time*

| | Children's views | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Works too much | | Wish he didn't work | | Enjoy time together | | Enough time together | |
| | Step 1 | Step 2 | Step 1 | Step 2 | Step 1 | Step 2 | Step 1 | Step 2 |
| Fathers' work time dimensions | | | | | | | | |
| Hours (ref. 35–44) | | | | | | | | |
| < 35 hours | −0.39** | −0.36* | −0.31† | −0.29 | −0.23† | −0.23† | 0.17 | 0.15 |
| | (0.67) | (0.70) | (0.73) | (0.75) | (0.79) | (0.79) | (1.18) | (1.16) |
| 45–54 hours | 0.35*** | 0.32*** | −0.00 | −0.02 | 0.15* | 0.17* | −0.04 | −0.02 |
| | (1.41) | (1.37) | (1.00) | (0.98) | (1.17) | (1.18) | (0.96) | (0.98) |
| ≥ 55 hours | 0.66*** | 0.58*** | 0.02 | −0.01 | 0.18* | 0.21* | −0.43*** | −0.39*** |
| | (1.93) | (1.79) | (1.02) | (0.99) | (1.20) | (1.23) | (0.65) | (0.67) |
| Schedule (ref. daytime, weekday) | | | | | | | | |
| Daytime including weekends | 0.21** | 0.18* | 0.21* | 0.20* | −0.18* | −0.18* | −0.05 | −0.03 |
| | (1.23) | (1.20) | (1.24) | (1.22) | (0.83) | (0.84) | (0.96) | (0.97) |
| Night, evening, rotating, shifts | 0.42*** | 0.36*** | 0.24* | 0.20† | −0.04 | −0.03 | −0.13 | −0.10 |
| | (1.52) | (1.44) | (1.27) | (1.22) | (0.96) | (0.97) | (0.88) | (0.90) |
| Intensity (ref. low) | 0.26*** | 0.13† | 0.22* | 0.18† | −0.04 | 0.01 | −0.26** | −0.18† |
| | (1.29) | (1.14) | (1.25) | (1.20) | (0.96) | (1.01) | (0.77) | (0.83) |
| Flexibility (ref. inflexible) | −0.12† | −0.04 | −0.31*** | −0.27** | −0.02 | −0.05 | 0.22* | 0.18† |
| | (0.89) | (0.96) | (0.73) | (0.76) | (0.98) | (0.95) | (1.25) | (1.20) |
| Fathers' family time conflicts | | | | | | | | |
| Misses family events (ref. disagree) | | 0.40*** | | 0.28** | | −0.01 | | −0.17 |
| | | (1.49) | | (1.32) | | (0.99) | | (0.84) |
| Pressured family time (ref. disagree) | | 0.25** | | −0.05 | | −0.25** | | −0.19 |
| | | (1.29) | | (0.95) | | (0.78) | | (0.83) |
| Child gender and age | | | | | | | | |
| Girl aged 10–11 (ref. boy 12–13) | −0.16* | −0.15† | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.41*** | 0.40*** | – | – |
| | (0.85) | (0.86) | (1.09) | (1.09) | (1.50) | (1.50) | – | – |
| Girl aged 12–13 | −0.06 | −0.05 | −0.53*** | −0.53*** | 0.03 | 0.03 | −0.31*** | −0.31*** |
| | (0.94) | (0.95) | (0.59) | (0.59) | (1.03) | (1.03) | (0.74) | (0.73) |
| Boy aged 10–11 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.51*** | 0.51*** | 0.18** | 0.19** | – | – |
| | (1.02) | (1.02) | (1.67) | (1.67) | (1.20) | (1.21) | – | – |
| Control variables | | | | | | | | |
| Stepfather (ref. biological father) | 0.11 | 0.14 | −0.12 | −0.07 | −1.06** | −1.04** | 0.34 | 0.32 |
| | (1.12) | (1.15) | (0.89) | (0.93) | (0.35) | (0.35) | (1.40) | (1.38) |
| Single father (ref. not-employed mother) | 0.09 | 0.11 | −0.04 | −0.03 | 0.70* | 0.70* | 0.31 | 0.30 |
| | (1.09) | (1.12) | (0.97) | (0.97) | (2.02) | (2.02) | (1.36) | (1.35) |
| Employed mother (ref. not employed) | 0.16† | 0.18* | −0.02 | −0.02 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.13 | 0.12 |
| | (1.17) | (1.19) | (0.98) | (0.98) | (1.10) | (1.09) | (1.14) | (1.13) |
| Family size | −0.01 | −0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 | −0.05 | −0.05 | 0.07 | 0.07 |
| | (0.99) | (0.98) | (1.01) | (1.01) | (0.95) | (0.95) | (1.07) | (1.07) |
| Fathers' income | 0.09* | 0.07 | −0.01 | −0.03 | 0.14** | 0.14** | 0.00 | 0.01 |
| | (1.10) | (1.07) | (0.99) | (0.97) | (1.15) | (1.15) | (1.00) | (1.01) |
| Square of fathers' income | −0.00 | −0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | −0.01** | −0.01** | −0.00 | −0.00 |
| | (1.00) | (1.00) | (1.00) | (1.00) | (0.99) | (0.99) | (1.00) | (1.00) |
| Completed secondary (ref. incomplete) | −0.07 | −0.08 | −0.11 | −0.12 | −0.08 | −0.07 | 0.11 | 0.12 |
| | (0.93) | (0.92) | (0.89) | (0.89) | (0.92) | (0.93) | (1.11) | (1.12) |
| Bachelor degree or higher | −0.19† | −0.19† | −0.38** | −0.38** | −0.11 | −0.10 | 0.19 | 0.20 |
| | (0.83) | (0.82) | (0.68) | (0.68) | (0.90) | (0.90) | (1.21) | (1.22) |
| Constant | −1.11*** | −1.32*** | −1.46*** | −1.56*** | 0.61*** | 0.66*** | 0.49* | 0.60* |
| | (−0.07) | (−0.08) | (−0.11) | (−0.12) | (−0.08) | (−0.07) | (0.11) | (0.12) |

*Note.* Unstandardized coefficients are presented with odds ratios in parentheses. Models were estimated using imputed data. Robust standard errors were calculated to take account of multiple records per child. $N = 5{,}711$ for "works too much," "wish he didn't work," and "enjoy time together" models. $N = 2{,}736$ for "enough time together" model. ref. = reference.

†$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$.

Table 4. *Adjusted (Unstandardized) Coefficients and Odds for Fathers' Family Time Conflicts by Work Time*

| | Fathers' family time conflicts | |
|---|---|---|
| | Misses family events | Pressured family time |
| Fathers' work time dimensions | | |
| Hours (ref. 35–44) | | |
| < 35 hours | −0.42** (0.65) | −0.03 (0.97) |
| 45–54 hours | 0.25** (1.28) | 0.30** (1.35) |
| ≥ 55 hours | 0.68*** (1.97) | 0.60*** (1.83) |
| Schedule (ref. daytime, weekdays) | | |
| Daytime, including weekends | 0.26** (1.30) | 0.14 (1.15) |
| Nights, evenings, rotating, shifts | 0.70*** (2.00) | 0.09 (1.09) |
| Intensity (ref. low) | 0.93*** (2.53) | 1.26*** (3.53) |
| Flexibility (ref. inflexible) | −0.69*** (0.50) | −0.55*** (0.58) |
| Control variables | | |
| Family size | 0.08† (1.08) | −0.05 (0.96) |
| Stepfather (ref. biological father) | −0.72 (0.49) | 0.60 (1.82) |
| Single father (ref. not-employed mother) | −0.21 (0.81) | 0.04 (1.04) |
| Working mother (ref. not-employed mother) | −0.11 (0.90) | −0.22* (0.81) |
| Fathers' income | 0.29*** (1.34) | −0.01 (0.99) |
| Square of fathers' income | −0.01*** (0.99) | 0.00 (1.00) |
| Complete secondary (ref. incomplete secondary) | 0.08 (1.08) | 0.21 (1.23) |
| Bachelor degree or higher (ref. incomplete secondary) | −0.02 (0.98) | 0.17 (1.18) |
| Constant | −0.51* (0.60) | −1.78*** (0.17) |

*Note.* Unstandardized coefficients are presented along with odds ratio in parentheses. Models were estimated using imputed data. Robust standard errors were calculated to take account of multiple records per father $N = 5{,}711$. Models also included control variables for age and gender of study child. ref. = reference.
$^{\dagger}p < .10$; $^{*}p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$.

to decompose effects in nonlinear models into direct and indirect effects, once proposed pathway variables were entered into the model. This routine could only be applied to the unimputed data; however, we believe this was not a significant problem because our sensitivity tests comparing findings for imputed and unimputed data in our other models yielded few differences. We also computed interaction terms for child gender and child age with fathers' work time variables.

## Results

Table 1 describes the sociodemographic characteristics of our sample using weighted averages from pooled data. About one third of children considered that their father works too much, and less than one fifth wished he did not work at all. Two thirds of the children said that they enjoyed and had enough time with their father, respectively. Most (9 of 10) fathers worked full-time (national average for fathers, 85%; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006), and nearly one fifth worked very long hours. One quarter of the fathers regularly worked weekends, and a further fifth on evenings, nights, irregular, or rotating schedules. Nearly two in five fathers worked under time pressure, and more than a third could not change start or stop times or needed approval to do so. One half of fathers missed out on family events, and about one fifth described their family time as more pressured and less fun because of their jobs.

### *Unadjusted Associations*

Both children's views of fathers' time and fathers' family time conflicts were associated with multiple dimensions of work time, providing preliminary support for the hypotheses (Table 2). As fathers' weekly work hours increased, so did the proportion of children who considered that he worked too much or wished he did not work at all (the latter trend was marginal) as well as the proportion of fathers who missed out on family events or whose family time was pressured. Similarly, as fathers' hours increased, the proportion of

children saying that they had enough time together decreased, although the children were also more likely to say that they definitely enjoyed time with their fathers. Fathers' work schedules were associated with both child and father views of his job. Proportionally fewer children thought that their father worked too much or wished he did not work at all when he usually worked daytime, weekday hours, and proportionally more considered that they had enough time together. Similarly, proportionally fewer fathers missed out on family events or described pressured family time when schedules were daytime and did not include weekends. When fathers worked under time pressure (work intensity), higher proportions of children considered that he worked too much compared to when fathers did not, there was also a marginal increase in the proportion wishing he did not work at all and a lower proportion saying that they had enough time with their father. Work time pressure was also associated with higher proportions of fathers missing out on family events and having pressured family time. When fathers could change their work hours (flexible hours), proportionally fewer children wished he did not work at all and considered that they had enough time together. These fathers were also less likely to miss out on family events or experience pressured family time.

### *Adjusted Models*

Adjusted results, presented in Tables 3 and 4, showed similar, consistent patterns of associations supporting our hypotheses that children's views about fathers' work and time with them were linked to multiple dimensions of his work time.

> Hypothesis 1: Children view fathers' time (at work, with them) negatively when he works long hours, at unsociable times, under time pressure, or lacks control over when he works.

Although multiple dimensions of fathers' work time influenced children's views, the patterning of associations varied for particular viewpoints (see Table 3). All dimensions of fathers' work time, long weekly work hours and working on weekends, evenings, nights, and on shifts as well as working under time pressure and having little capacity to vary start and stop times, were independently associated with the children's views that their fathers worked too much. However, work hours were unrelated to children wishing that their fathers did not work at all. What appeared to be more important was when fathers worked (weekends, evenings, nights, or shifts), his work time pressure and intensity, and whether he had flexible hours. Children were more likely to enjoy time with their fathers (perhaps surprisingly) when he worked longer hours, but were less likely to enjoy time together when he worked weekends. Very long work hours, working under time pressure, and being unable to vary work hours all increased the likelihood that the children would report that they did not have enough time with their fathers.

> Hypothesis 2: Fathers' family time becomes more conflicted when he works long hours, at unsociable times and under time pressure or lacks control over when he works.

As summarized in Table 4, multiple dimensions of work time were associated with fathers' family time conflict. Working more than 44 hours each week; working on weekends, evenings, nights, or shifts; working under time pressure; and difficulty in varying start and stop time were independently associated with fathers missing family events. Work schedules did not appear to influence the quality of fathers' family time (pressured, less fun); however, long work hours, intensity, and inflexibility made independent contributions.

> Hypothesis 3: Fathers' experience of family time conflicts contributes to children's negative views, forming an indirect pathway linking fathers' work time and children's views.

We tested this hypothesis by adding father-reported family time conflict measures into the models after adjusting for his work time (Step 2, Table 3). We found that children were more likely to view that their father worked too much when their father reported that he missed family events and that family time quality was pressured. Missing family events also influenced children's wish that their father did not work at all. When fathers reported that their family time was more pressured and less fun, their children were also less likely to say that they always enjoyed time together. Fathers' family time conflicts did not influence children's assessment of having enough time with fathers, which

remained significantly associated with fathers' long hours and work intensity. We expected that fathers' family time conflicts would form an indirect pathway between his work time and children's views about his work and his time with them. Despite fathers' work time consistently predicting his family time conflicts (Table 4), we observed very little change in the associations between his work time (hours, schedules, intensity, and flexibility) and children's views with the inclusion of fathers' family time conflicts in the model. There was minor attenuation of the linkages between fathers work intensity and children's view that he worked too much or wish he that did not work at all when fathers' family time conflicts were added to the model. When formally tested for mediation (using KHB on unimputed data), this reduction was not significant ($p = .16$), giving no support for an indirect pathway (results not shown). Contrary to our hypothesized model, the results indicated that fathers' work time dimensions were directly related to children's views about fathers' work and family time.

Hypothesis 4: Do age and gender modify children's views of fathers' time?

We found that when compared with boys aged 12 to 13 years (reference group), younger girls (ages 10–11) were marginally less likely to consider that their father worked too much, and girls aged 12 to 13 years were less likely to wish that their father did not work at all. When boys were younger (ages 10–11), they were more likely to wish that their father did not have to work when compared with 2 years later. Boys and girls aged 10 to 11 years were more likely than the boys aged 12 to 13 to always enjoy time with fathers. Views about having enough time were only collected from 12- and 13-year-olds; in this age group, girls were less likely than boys to say that they had enough father time. There was one age interaction between fathers' work time and children's views. When children were older (ages 12–13, $p < .05$), the association between long work hours and working too much was stronger.

***Children's views and father–child closeness.*** We explored how views about time with fathers were related to the children's assessments of closeness (how close do you feel to your dad; if you had a problem would you talk to your dad). We found that the children were less likely to describe their relationship as very close when they considered that their father worked too much ($p < .026$) or when they did not enjoy ($p < .001$) or have enough time together ($p < .001$). They were more likely to describe their relationship as very close if they wished he did not work at all. The children were less likely to say that they would go to their father about a problem if they thought he worked too much ($p < .001$, Wave 4; $p < .01$ Wave 5) and if they did not enjoy ($p < .001$ at both ages) or have enough time together ($p < .001$ at both ages). This aspect of closeness was unrelated to wishing fathers did not work.

***Other predictors of children's views.*** A number of the control variables were significant predictors of children's views of fathers' time in the models. Although very few children lived with stepfathers in our sample, they were less likely to report enjoying their time together when compared with children living with biological fathers. Children whose fathers earned higher incomes were more likely to say that they enjoyed time with him. Children whose fathers had higher educational attainment were less likely to wish that he did not have to work or to consider that he worked too much. Mother's employment and work hours did not appear to influence children's views about fathers (we tested for both main and interactive effects), with one exception: The children in couple families were somewhat more likely to consider that their father worked too much when their mother was working 15 hours or more per week, relative to children whose mothers were not employed or who worked less than 15 hours per week. We also explored socioeconomic differences by interacting low income (bottom 33% of fathers' income distribution) with each of the predictor variables and found that some of the interconnections between working time and fathers and children's views strengthened. Thus nonstandard schedules and (father reported) family time pressure showed stronger associations among low compared with higher income fathers. Children of low-earning fathers were also less likely to say that he worked too much if he had flexible hours.

***Sensitivity analyses.*** Random effects models were used as an alternative approach, with findings consistent with those presented, as were analyses conducted on unimputed data. In our

logistic analysis we combined children who “do not wish” and “wish a little” to compare with the more extreme group wishing “very much” their father did not work. We used a multinomial specification to check that our approach did not overlook substantive differences between these three categories (available on request). Very few differences were observed (if fathers were more highly educated, children were more likely to say they “do not wish” rather than “wish a little,” consistent with the logistic finding that as fathers' education increases, children are less likely to wish that he did not work; when fathers say that they miss family events, children were more likely to say “wish a little” rather than “do not wish,” consistent with logistic regression interpretation). We also compared the two extreme categories (wish a lot vs. do not wish), which slightly strengthened some associations from the logistic models.

## Discussion

Even if they want more time with their children, many fathers hold jobs in workplaces that reward their overwork and ready availability, presuming their primary devotion is to their job (Cha & Weeden, 2014; O'Neill & O'Reilly, 2010; Williams et al., 2013). This creates work time imperatives that undercut fathers' capacity to use family-friendly initiatives and engage with their children, generating a tension between what is expected on the job and what is longed for at home (Ball & Daly, 2012; Daly, 1996). Difficulty in resolving these tensions may help explain why fathers often report work and family conflicts; among the Australian fathers we studied, more than half said that they missed out on family events, whereas a fifth said that their jobs made family time more pressured and less fun. Despite this, nearly a half worked longer than 45 hours each week, one quarter usually worked on weekends, two in five worked in jobs characterized by time pressures, and more than a third lacked flexibility in when they started or stopped. We found that these work time requirements not only contributed to fathers' family time conflicts but also they mattered to their children, directly influencing how the children viewed their fathers' work and their time with them.

As existing research shows, most children value fathers' employment and accept that it restricts his time (Brannen et al., 2012; Harden et al., 2013; Lewis et al., 2008). They understand that their fathers' job is important and benefits the family (Galinsky, 1999; Pocock & Clarke, 2005). Consistent with this research, the majority of the 10- to 13-year-old Australian children we surveyed viewed their fathers' work time positively and were content with time together. However, significant numbers were not content. More than one third considered that their father worked too much, one eighth wished that he did not work at all, about one third wanted to have more time with him, and another third reported that they did not always enjoy the time that they had together. We went beyond existing research on children and parents' jobs to assess which aspects of work time are problematic. Using the theory from Williams et al. (2013) on work time devotions, we were able to identify where the work time limits—from the children's point of view—might lie.

Thus we find that multiple aspects of work time pose problems to children's experience of fathering and work, although their significance depends on the outcome (supporting Hypotheses 1 and 2). Although relatively few children wish that their father did not work at all, what appears to generate such a negative view was whether he works weekends, evenings, or nights and if he is unable to vary his worktime, not how many hours he spends at work. This reaffirms other evidence that children imbue certain times with fathers as especially meaningful, such as family meals, routines, and weekends (Harden et al., 2013; Hook, 2012). Not surprisingly, long hours are important to children's view that fathers work too much but so too is when he works. When compared with working standard hours, Monday to Friday, working weekends, evenings, or nights increases the odds of “working too much” in children's minds by 20% to 50%. Fathers' work intensity also increases the odds that children consider he works too much. It is possible that fathers' time stress on the job spills over to affect the quality of time at home; “too much” may refer to a qualitative as well as quantitative constraint on father–child time (Harden et al., 2013; Sallinen et al., 2004).

When fathers work very long work hours, we find that their children are more likely to consider that he is working too much and that they do not have enough time together. They were also more likely to report that they always enjoy time with him. One explanation is that these long-hour fathers do little of the routine, mundane care of children but make special efforts

to spend quality and fun time together (Hook, 2012). Such a possibility may also explain why working on weekends lowers children's odds for saying that they enjoy time with their fathers because these fathers may do more routine weekday care but share less leisure on weekends (Hook, 2012; Yeung et al., 2001). Alternatively, the association we find with fathers' very long hours could reflect an emotional premium children place on the value of scarce time with their father. Overall, our findings reinforce other evidence that children view time with fathers as special and unique, especially their time together on weekends, whereas long hours on weekdays are viewed as part of the job, up to a point. Such findings reinforce the centrality of time with fathers for children (Daly, 1996; Lamb, 2010), but we find it is not only the long hours of high-skilled, well-paid jobs that are problematic for contemporary father–child relationships but also the time requirements of lower status jobs (Williams et al., 2013). Indeed, for the children of low-income fathers, work scheduled on evenings, nights, and weekends and inflexible start or stop times appeared to be especially problematic.

Finally, we expected that children also develop negative views if fathers' family time becomes conflicted (Hypothesis 3), and we used two measures reported by fathers (misses out on events and family time is more pressured and less fun) to test this. These measures reflect fathers' own assessments of his family time conflicts, and although they were associated with children's negative views, they did not explain the linkages to work time. The effects we found were indirect, suggesting that children's views about fathers' work time and its impact on them are formed independently of whether fathers themselves consider their work time to be problematic. Such divergence reinforces the need to incorporate children's own views and voice into the research and the importance of doing so.

### *Study Strengths and Limitations*

We used paired data from fathers and children to reduce the bias and confounding when only one informant is used. Few studies of the work–family interface use multiple informant data, and by doing so we build children's views and perspectives into the analysis. However, the paired data were only available for two waves (one for enough time with fathers), thus a multiwave, random effects analysis could not be conducted. Sensitivity tests with random effects models using two waves revealed findings similar to the results from the cross-sectional analysis; however, the robustness of findings would be strengthened if more waves of data had been available. Similarly, the findings suggest that fathers' time is more important for younger children, especially boys, but we are unable to fully assess this without more data from earlier and later child ages. We make the case that children's views about work and family time is important to father–child relationships, and we find that they are also related to children's views about closeness. However, we did not model other aspects of their relationship directly. Conclusions as to the wider impact on father–child relationships or child outcomes are therefore limited. Finally, although our large sample of families was relatively representative of the Australian context, the generalizability of our findings to other countries is qualified. The influence of work hours, schedules, flexibility, and intensity on fathers' family time conflicts are consistent with those found in other developed countries (Byron, 2005), but different policy supports, gender, and work time regimes could alter how they influence relationships with children.

### *Contributions to Theory*

Our findings underline the importance of fathers and the gendered organization of work time to children. Although family scholarship has recognized the important role fathers play in child development and well-being, fathers' employment has tended to be viewed uncritically (for a critique, see Parke, 2004). Recent fatherhood scholars have articulated a differing perspective, describing the time dilemmas of fathers who want to be more engaged while they hold demanding jobs (Ball & Daly, 2012; Henwood & Procter, 2003). This perspective emphasizes the temporal trade-offs employment provokes for fathers, and we show that children are privy to them. By connecting theory on labor markets, gender relations, and class (Ferree, 2010; Williams et al., 2013) to scholarship on the importance of time for fathering and children (e.g., Daly, 1996), we develop and test a conceptual model, supplying new, robust, population evidence for such links. We show that the same aspects of work time that can complicate fathers' capacity to give care shape how his

children view his job and time with them. Working long hours, being available at times valued by children, working under time stress, or missing family events because of inflexible hours are job devotions expected by many workplaces; our study links them directly to children's own views and experiences of their fathers' job and the time he spends with them.

Second, we find that it is not just the time devotions of well-paid jobs that are generating dilemmas for fathers and their children, as Williams et al. (2013) describe; there are differing time imperatives linked to class that can complicate the capacity of all fathers to give care. Our approach supports the analysis by Williams et al. (2013), which states that market demands on time define power relations at work and consequently social relations in families through multiple ways; duration is one, but scheduling, intensity, and control are also important (see also Adam, 2004, for a sociological analysis of time; Thompson, 1967, for a political economy perspective).

Our third contribution is to show that the same work time processes underpinning gender inequality (Cha, 2010; Cha & Weeden, 2014; O'Neill & O'Reilly, 2010) are visible and meaningful to children. Showing that children's own views about jobs, time, and relationships with fathers are directly associated with his work time builds the case for an intergenerational as well as gendered dimension to the flexibility stigma (Williams et al., 2013). Although further research needs to explore this possibility, such a connection would suggest that a direct socializing process occurs between workplaces and children, and this process is also likely to be gendered. Thus we find that boys were more likely to consider that their fathers work too much, relative to girls, and that younger boys were the most likely to wish that their fathers did not work at all. This may reflect a greater significance for boys of having time with fathers or a greater ambivalence among boys toward working (e.g., see the finding from Johnson et al., 2014, that fathers' work hours affect boys', but not girls', well-being). Such a gendered intergenerational process raises further research questions about how gender identity and inequality are reinforced or disrupted and how the role contemporary work time is playing in this (Ferree, 2010). How will these boys enact fatherhood in later life? Will they struggle with a temporal conscience and be willing to push back against flexibility stigmas?

### *Conclusion*

Time and money are basic resources for family life, and fathering is interlinked with both. Fathers earn money through their attachment to the labor market, and they engage with their children through their time. The significance of what fathers give to children, especially through their time, is recognized and valued by family scholars and practitioners. Fathers need to be, and many want to be, more hands on, especially in the context of mothers' increased engagement in the workforce, yet the problem for fathers is how to do this. Just as fathers' time is valuable to families and children, it is also valuable to the workplace, raising questions about whether and where work time limits can be drawn and what is the most fruitful site of intervention. Fathers gain a gendered privilege from better wages and career progression, but they do this by acceding to workplace expectations at a cost of time for the family. We show that this directly encroaches into children's experiences of fathering, and we find that from the children's viewpoint, there are limits to what are acceptable work devotions.

## Note

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